BRITTAINS REMEMBRANCER:

or, the Nationall COVENANT:

As it was laid out in a Sermon Preached in the *Minster* at *Yorke*, before the Right Honourable *FERDINANDO* Lord *FAIRFAX*, Lord Generall of all the Forces raised in the North for the King and Parliament; upon Friday, *Septem.* 20. when his Honour, with divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Citizens solemnly took the Nationall *COVENANT*.

By *Iohn Shaw* Preacher of Gods Word.

Jerem. 50. 5.

Come and let us joyn our selves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant that shall not be forgotten.

Nehem. 9. 38.

And because of all this we make a sure Covenant, and write it, and our Princes, Levites and Priests seal unto it.

Nehem. 10. 29.

They clave to their Brethren their Nobles, and entred into a Curse, and into an Oath, to walk in Gods Law, which was given by Moses, *&c.*

YORK,

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To the Right Honourable, FERDINANDO Lord FAIRFAX, Lord Generall of all the Northerne Forces, raised for the King and Parliament.

THis poor widdowed (though darling) Countrey, and these Northern parts have mourned in sable long, have lain among the Pots, *Psal.* 68 13. and beene like *Ezekiel's* dry bones, *Ezek.* 37. 12. *and when I looked on them, I could not but say with* Daniel, *c.* 9. *v.* 14. *The Lord our God is righteous in all his workes which he doth, for we obeyed not his voice, and I sate like* Eli *in the gate trembling because of the Arke; or like* Moses *his sister*, Exod. 2. 4. *waiting what would become of my Native Countrey, what the Lord would do with us.* Me thinkes I have heard the L. even reasoning with himself (as sometimes with his people of old) How shall I give thee up oh *England*? how shall I destroy you oh *Yorkeshire*, my bowels are rowled together? At last the most high visited us from Heaven, and looked down upon our low estate, and heard our breathing and cry, *Lam.* 3 59. as *Israel* somtimes *Ex.* 2. 23 and though we are a sinful people, yet hath God made that promise good to us, *Ier.* 51. 5. *Israel* hath not bin forsaken, nor *Iudah* of his God, the Lord of Hosts; though their Land was filled with sin, against the holy one of *Israel*, God hath breathed upon these dry bones, and said unto us live, *Ezek.* 37. 3. and in some measure begun to make for us new heavens & new earth, *Isa* 65. 17. Your Honour hath had a speciall share in both the conditions of this Country, & God hath honoured you both in enabling you to adventure life, estate, and all, and in suffering much for him, *Act.* 5. 41. & in doing great things by you, even by small means, that the finger of God might the more be seen, *Zac.* 4 6, 7, 10. (and is it not an honour & comfort to have an hand in rearing up Sion, & pulling down *Babylon*, *Psal.* 137. 8, 9.) and in making you so eminent an instrument in this great work, & you have lived to see much, of that notable promise made good to your Honour, *Isa* 41. 12. God hath also honoured you with sweet experiments, delivering you many a time from the Lyon & the Bear: and when the enemies have had much power, policy, & craft, *Dan.* 8. 24, 25. yet have they come down by small means, *v.* 25. Wonder not (right honorable) if for all this you hear or reade against you, the voice of *Treason*, *Treason*, such words have bin given out, and that by great ones too, against those who did nothing but what became honest men, and good subjects, 2 *King.* 11. 14. and your Honour knowes that in the dayes of *R.* 2. of this Kingdome, there were divers persons gathered about the King (especially *Nevill* the

Gen. 32. 10. *with my staffe I passed over this* Jordan, *and I am become two bands.*

Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, *Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolke*, & Lord Chancellor, *Treſilian* Lord chief Juſtice of *England*, & *Nicholas Brambre* ſometimes Major of *London*) who perſwaded the King to abhor the Parl. and the Acts therein made: and buzzed into the Kings eare, that the Statutes therein made, were prejudiciall to the honour of his Crown & Princely prerogative; ſo that he ſhould not now have power to do any thing befitting a King, no not ſo much as to give a largeſſe to any never ſo well deſerving; drew the King from Weſtminſter (where he ſhould have bin) to the remoteſt parts of the Realm, raiſed up moneys and forces, (under pretence for the King) drew the King to ſweare, that with all his power during his life, he ſhould maintain and defend them from all their enemies, & cauſed divers perſons (good ſubjects) to be proclaimed traytors, & that none (upon pain of forfeiture of all his goods) ſhould afford them victuals, armour, buy or ſell with them, &c. and cauſed the King to ſweare, that he with all his power would put them to death: and yet it appeared, that thoſe Parliamentarians, who were ſo proclaimed traytors, were good and loyall ſubjects, and divers of the other ſuffered death by the Laws of this Land. I doubt not but your Honour can approve your heart to the ſearcher of the reins, and great Judg of all the world, that you ſeek nothing more then the advancement of Gods truth, and his Majeſty and Kingdomes true good, & do cordially deſire that with which Marqueſſe *Hamilton* cloſed up his Speech to his Majeſty in *Scotland*, concerning his return into *England*, *vivat in æternum Rex Carolus quem Deus tunc & in ſæcula ſæculorum deferidat oro.* And I hope you may live to ſee that time, when God will perſwade our dread Sovereign to believe as much; And as a great and honourable perſon of this Kingdom deſired this Epitaph, upon his Tombe, *Here lyes a friend of Sir Philip Sidney*; ſo when you have done Gods work, & ſerved him in your generation, & your ſilver hairs ſhall go down to the grave, you may have that upon your Tomb, *Here lyes a true, loyall, and faithfull ſubject of K Charls the* firſt: & yet you may ſay of this ſpacious country (as the Orator tels of another) that you found it brick & left it marble; and have *Tullies* wiſh, *Duo tantum hæc opto unum ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi majus a dis immortalibus dari nihil poteſt; alterum ut ita cuique eveniat ut de republ. quiſque mereatur.* Only give me leave to adde a word (for which end I have ſaid the former) *viz.* to put your Honour in mind, to go on ſtill in honouring this God again; 1. By ſumming up and recounting the wonders of God to you, *Pſal.* 106. 2 its 4 times repeated in *Pſal.* 107. *v* 8, 15, 21, 31. and the want of this, ſore reproved in *Iſrael*, *Pſal.* 78. 42. and 106. 13, 21. 2. By going through the hardeſt works that Chriſt

cals

cals you unto, both in doing and suffering cheerfully: *Sauls* servants offer *David* to be King, *Sauls* son in law; *David* seems to neglect & put it off, 1 *Sam.* 18.22,23. but within 3. verses following, when they tell him of difficulties, & that he must slay 100. Philistines, and be avenged on the Kings enemies, & so be son in law to the King, it quickned *Davids* spirits and the thing pleased him well, *v.* 25,26. Gods two witnesses, prophesied in sackcloth (sore affliction & mourning condition) 1260. years, and in the end lye like dead men for 3 years & a halfe, and yet that inward comfort, and good cause which they had, makes them account it but so many dayes, *Rev.* 11.3,9. 3. I humbly pray you, to Gods poore afflicted Saints to be like the cloudy fiery pillar in the wildernesse, the bright & fiery side wherof was toward the Church, and the dark and cloudy side toward the enemies. 4. Carry all this honor (as I doubt not but you do) with a self-denying spirit, casting all the honour upon Christ (like *John* the Baptist, *Mat.* 3.11.) who gave his life and bloud for you, and cast all this honour upon you like that gallant Roman, who being called from the Plough, routed the enemy, and returned to his Plough again. 5. Cary that great Emperors resolution amongst your army, that he that will never serve God well, will never serve this Cause, nor your Honour well; And the rather, considering what a God, what a Cause you have, how many thousand prayers at your back; what assistance God hath bin pleased to afford you in a religious, most gallant, and dutifull son, Sir *T. F.* in a pious, faithfull, and tryed Lord Major, to govern the civill sword; in honorable, faithfull, and worthy, both Commissioners of the Kingdoms, and standing Committee for this County; as also considering what gallant worthies of your * name and kindred, have dyed in this cause of late (not inferiour to any of their rank) that so when your appointed time shall come, you may give up your account with joy, and not with grief. I shall trouble your Lordship no more at present, save only to beg your Honours protection for these rude lines ensuing, preached by your Honours command, to which you vouchsafed an attentive eare, and afterwards willingly, and exemplarily tooke and subscribed the Covenant, so shall I be more emboldned to suffer those former notes of mine to see the light, which were long since commanded to the Presse, and shall most cordially subscribe my self,

Alderm. Hoyle.
Sir Wil. Fairfax,
Colloncll Charles Fairfax,
Major Willam Fairfax.

My Lord,

Your Honours spirituall Servant, and dayly Orator,

York, *October* 7. 1644.

JOHN SHAW.

To the Christian Reader.

IF it trouble thee (good Reader) to see so bare a margin, so few Authors cited, or this Sermon come abroad in so homely and plaine a dresse; be pleased to take your Answer thus; 1. For Authors, my Bookes (yea and Papers) were plundered from me, above one yeer agoe, and I could never recover one of them since: & I live now so far distant from the Fountain, that I know not how to get new. 2. I received Commands for this Sermon not above three dayes at most ere it was preached (and that in distracting times.) 3. It being commanded to the Presse (by them that may command me) I had only time to write it once over, so as the Printer got it from me by pieces of sheets, as it was written, (which makes it somewhat more confused.) 4. (To speake plainly and truly) if thou expect much from me at best (especially now) I shall be most like to faile thy expectation; if in any thing I may be serviceable to Gods Church, and further his Cause, I have attained my ayme.

Again, though these Notes may not be helpfull to the Learned, yet perhaps to the weaker sort they may, as namely those that are without any setled Ministery; (for whose sake they were as I conceive, principally commended to the Presse) and chiefly to those for whom I mainly intended them, my dearly beloved friends at Lym, and Warburton in Cheshire, at Skerringham, to that kind and hungring people after the means of Grace, at Cartmell and Furnesse in Lancashire, as also my quondam neighbors of Kendall, and in Westmerland: (now the good Lord Christ, whose very bowels yearned over poore people when he saw them as sheepe not having a shepheard, send them some fiery pillar, to lead them through this Wildernesse to the good Land of Canaan, some bright shining starres that may lead them to Christ;) to these I say, and to some of the weaker and doubting people within this ancient City, they may be usefull at present and welcome.

I will not stay thee any longer (good Reader) at this time, save only to entreat for thy poor Mother England (sicke of a long and sore consumption) thy wrastling prayers and teares, and afford the craving and needfull Author (who begs no more) some of thy best helpe when thou hast sweetest communion with thy God.

And that thou mayest more clearly know what that Covenant is which thou art to enter into, and better remember it to keepe it, and better understand some passages in the ensuing Sermon; I thought good here to give thee in a Copy of the Covenant.

A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and defence of Religion, the Honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdomes, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel & Commons of all sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, & Ireland, by the Providence of God, living under one King, & being of one reformed Religion, having before our eyes

eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happinesse of the Kings Majesty, & his posterity, and the true publique liberty, safety, & peace of the Kingdomes, wherein every ones private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous Plots, Conspiracies, attempts, and practises of the enemies of God against the true Religion, and professors therof in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms ever since the Reformation of Religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption of late, and at this time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdome of Scotland, are present and publike testimonies; We have now at last (after other means of Supplications, Remonstrances, Protestations, and sufferings) for the preservation of our selves and our Religion, from utter ruine and destruction, according to the commendable practise of these Kingdoms in former times, and the example of Gods people in other Nations; after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutuall and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himselfe; with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do sweare:

I. THat we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, indevour in our severall places and callings, the preservation of the reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against our common enemies, the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdome of *England* & *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches: And shall indeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the neerest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith; Form of Church-Government, directory for worship and Catechizing; That we & our posterity after us may as brethren live in Faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, indeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is Church-government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Prophanenesse, and whatsoever shall be found to bee contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godlinesse, lest wee partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three Kingdoms. III. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our severall vocations and callings, indeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and priviledges of Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, & to preserve and defend the Kings Maj. person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, that the world may bear witnesse with our consciences of our loyalty, and that wee have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesties just Power and Greatnesse. IV. We shall also with all faithfulnesse, indeavour the discovery of al such as have bin, or shal be Incendiaries, or evil instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the K from his People, or one of the

the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction of parties amongst the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publike trial, and receive condigne punishment, as the degree of their offences shall deserve, or the supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. V. And whereas the happinesse of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denyed in former time to our Progenitors, is by the good providence granted unto us, and hath bin lately concluded, & setled by both Parliaments, we shall each one of us according to our place & interest indeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firme peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilfull opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Articles. VI. Wee shall also according to our places and callings in this common cause of Religion, Liberty, and peace of the Kingdomes, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer our selves directly, or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, perswasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferencie or neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdomes, and the honour of the King; but shall all the daies of our lives, zealously, and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, & promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what wee are not able our selves to suppresse or overcome, wee shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We professe and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned desires to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms; especially, that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospell; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not indeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of sins and transgressions, so much abounding among us; & our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publike and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a reall Reformation, that the Lord may turne away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdomes in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and to blesse our desires and proceedings with such successe, as may be deliverance, and safety to his people, and incouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian Tyrannie; to joyn in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the glory of God, the inlargment of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and Tranquilitie of Christian Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

BRITTAINS REMEMBRANCER:

OR,

A Sermon Preached in York Minſter, Septemb. 20. being *Friday*, 1644. about the *Covenant*, Upon

2, CHRONICLES, 15. 12.

And they entred into a Covenant to ſeeke the Lord God of their Fathers, with all their heart, and with all their ſoule.

RIght Honourable, and grave Aſſembly! We are here gathered this day together, about one of the greateſt and moſt ſolemne works (in ſome reſpects) that ever was done in *England* (I thinke) ſince it was a Nation; yea, ſince the firſt light was darted down upon it, from the bright Vault of the ſpangled Canopy of Heaven: for, tell me, Was it ever knowne that *England*, nay, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* (this threefold Cord, which is *inſuperabilis, dum inſeperabilis*) did ever enter into a ſolemn Nationall Covenant (not one with another, but) joyntly with the Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God

of heaven and earth, and that when there was a Parliament sitting, being the representative Body of the Kingdome, and also a grave and learned Assembly of Divines, and the Honourable Commissioners from our sister Kingdome of *Scotland* with them, and that about so great a businesse as the Glory, Religion, and Cause of God, the Kingdomes safetie, Parliaments, Priviledges, and Subjects Liberties, &c? and wherein (besides those then imployed in the Armies, Committees in this or other Countries;) there were then about 230 in the House of Commons (besides the Lords) who went before us in this great work. Now seeing we are here in the presence of so great and holy a God, (to whom we should draw near and joyn in Covenant this day, *Jerem* 50.5.) and in the presence of so grave an assembly, and about so high and solemn a work; that we may go through all profitably and happily, the speciall blessing of him that appeared in the Bush, be with us, and prosper our journey this day. I know in this Work we are compassed with many difficulties, and one of the main, and which hath most troubled my distracted thoughts, since I even now lately received Commands for this service, is how to unclaspe the Covenant, and untie the knots about it, within the compasse of the alloted time; this I suspect as difficult as to write *Homers* Iliads in a Nut-shell, or the Creed in the breadth of a two pence: However we shall speedily step into the ship of the Text, and if there are arise not very many crosse-winds, we shall indeavour to accoast the Shoar with what good speed we may: and that you may the better see how suitable this Text is to our Times and this occasion, that its not only *commodum*, but *accommodum*; *verbum Dei in die suo*, like Apples of Gold, in Pictures of silver, let me a little untwist the thread of the coherent; and it is thus.

In the *Chap.* 13. you have two great Armies, and Generals, (as alas its now in our Kingdom) both plead they are in the right; *Abijah* pleads that he stands for the Truth, the House and Priviledges of his Father *David*, and *Ieroboam* saith no lesse; but *Abijah* brings three Arguments among others, to prove that he is in the right.

First, saith he, the main Body of *Jeroboams* Army, are but of loose lives, vain men, swearers, cursers, &c. *verse* 7.

Secondly, in *Jeroboams* Army, saith he, are golden Calves, Idolatry, (I had almost said Masses and Popery) *verse* 8.

Thirdly, where ever this Army comes (saith he) never a godly Minister dare tarry, but onely a many of temporizing Priests, *verse* 9. But

with

With us (ſaith *Abijah*) its quite contrary in all the particulars, *verſe* 10, 11, 12. and therefore we are in the right; well, the Armies joyne battell, the enemy was double in number, *verſe* 3. and the more ſubtill, old ſouldiers, *verſe* 13. (however the Duke of *Saxonies* Motto will prove true in the end, *tandem bona cauſa triumphat*:) at laſt, (I wiſh all ſouldiers to take notice, how the good party prevailed,) not by might nor by power, nor number, but becauſe they relyed upon the Lord their God, *verſe* 18. After this, they ſet upon the great work of Reformation, *Chap.* 14. *verſe* 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. (as bleſſed be God, there is an endeavour amongſt us this day) but for all the former victory, and the preſent indeavour of Reformation, thinke not to be free from oppoſition; for after this, *verſe* 9. comes the greateſt *Ethiopian* (or *Arabian*) Army that ever wee read of in any Story; they were above 400000 men more then King *Aſa's* Army, *verſe* 8, 9. (yet *tandem bona cauſa triumphat*) in the end, they (or rather God for and by them, *verſe* 12. conquered that great Army of *Zerah* the *Cuſhite*, purſued the enemy, ſlew many, and ſpoyled their Quarters, *verſe* 13, 14, 15. and would you ſouldiers know how it was? becauſe they relyed on the Lord God, *verſe* 11. ſtill. And now doe you think after this *Maſton-Moores* great victory (as I may call it) now all ſhall be quiet? and that now they may ſay with *Agag*, The bitternesſe of death is paſt? No, afflictions attend the Church (therefore never be ſecure) like waves of the Sea, one daſhing in the neck of another, or like ſtones in a wall (when an old Building is pulled down) one falling on the back of another, for the next newes is, *Chap.* 15. *verſe* 6, 7. that there was no peace to him that came in, or to him that went out, but Nation was deſtroyed of Nation, and City of City (as it is now with us) and ſee the cauſe of it, want of pure Ordinances, and the power of Religion, *verſe* 3. ſinne puts down Judgments. At laſt, *Aſa* ſets upon a Soveraign, Nation-helping, and healing Remedy, and that is *Reformation*, *verſe* 12. and entring into Covenant with God, in my text.

Wherein conſider, firſt the great buſineſſe they are about, *viz.* a *Covenant*. Secondly, what the main ſubſtance of that Covenant is, *viz.* *To ſeeke the Lord God of their Fathers*. Thirdly, The manner how, *With all their heart, and with all their ſoule*. Fourthly, Who were the *Covenanters*, *not one man, or one family, one riding, Countrey, or Kingdome, but two Siſter Nations*, (I had almoſt ſaid an *England*, and a *Scotland*) *verſe* 9. *Iudah* and many of *Iſrael*, (a *Nationall Covenant*.) Fiftly, With whom they Covenanted, *Not with other Countries, or one with another, but with the great God*,

verse 14. Sixthly, the event and successe of this, both the swifter going on of the *Work of Reformation*, the main blocks are now removed presently, *verse* 16. *Asa* removes even the Queene Mother (who had an obscœne and Idolatrous Grove) from being Queene, (and though the high places dedicated to God, were not taken away, *verse* 17. yet those dedicated to Idols were removed, *Chap.* 14. *verse* 3. and also quietnesse and peace was setled in the Land, *verse* 19. I may not like *Plinies* Bees stay sucking every leafe, but must with *Gideons* souldiers only lap and away; and therefore let me grasp up all at once for hast, in this one

Doctr. plain point, viz. *That the holy and solemne entring into, and observing of a pious, National Covenant with God, is a thing very pleasing to God, and very helpfull to a Church and State*; so here, *verse* 16, 19. For proofe, see that *Deut.* 29. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. (the text is a fit resemblance of our meeting here this day,) *Keepe therefore the words of this Covenant and do them, that yee may prosper in all that ye doe: yee stand this day all of you before the Lord your God, your Captains of your Tribes, your Elders and your Officers, with all the men of* Israel, &c. *that thou shouldest enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his Oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this Day, that he may establish thee to day, &c.* See president also for so doing: thus did *Hezekiah*, 2 *Chron.* 29. 10. *and God was pleased, verse* 10. *and the Church comforted, verse* 36. So *Josiah*, 2 *Chron.* 34. 31, 32, 33. But the thing is cleer,

Quest. onely it may be questioned, in what cases, and upon what occasions

Answ. may a Nation enter Covenant with God? I will only name foure at

Four Cases of entring Covenant. present, as most suitable to us, and which wee shall have occasion to apply anon. 1. When some sore distresse & calamity is upon a Nation, for the removing whereof, they enter Covenant with God; thus in this *Chap.* 2 *Chron.* 15. 5, 6. *There was no peace to him that went out, nor him that came in, but great vexations, then they entred into Covenant*, &c. So upon this occasion, did *Hezekiah* strike Covenant with God, 2 *Chron.* 29. 8, 9, 10. 2. After God hath afforded some great deliverance or mercy to a Nation: thus when *Israel* was come out of their long captivity of *Egypt* they entred into Covenant with God at *Mount Horeb*, and so when the Jewes were come out of the 70. years captivity of *Babylon*, they strooke Covenant with God, (as we shall shew anon.) Thus did *Jehoida*, and the Kingdome after the delivery of the Kingdome from that bloody Monster *Athalia*, 2 *Kings* 11. 17, &c. Thus did *Iosous* and the people after God had brought them into the promised Land of *Canaan*, *Iosh.* 24 25, 26. 3. When we desire, and are in expectation of some great mercy, but still something hinders it, some blocks lye in the doore, (still

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the Work ſticks, *Hoſ.*13.14.) Thus in *Eſra's* time, when though a free Proclamation made for the building of the Temple, and the Work of Reformation; brave Worthies about the Worke, &c. yet it ſticks, or rather goes backward; then comes *Ezra*, *chap.*10.35. and after him *Nehemiah*, *chap.9.ult.* and 10.29. and covenant with God! So when *Iſrael* were come neere the Land of *Canaan* (forty years after their Covenant in *Horeb*) they renew their Covenant, *Deut.*29.9,10,11. 4. When a Kingdome hath long layen under ſome groſſe ſins, errors, Idolatry, or corruptions in Doctrine or Practiſe; for their removall, and to help on the *VVorke of Reformation*, they covenant with God, thus, 2 *Chron.*15 3--- 12. and 2 *Chron.*29.6.7---10. and 2 *Chron.*34.25---31. But I muſt break off this in haſte; for I ſee more Corn on the Floor, then we can go through this day; let us after *Scripture* a little conſult reaſon.

Holy entring into Covenant with God, is a way for a poor diſtreſſed Nation to bee at peace with God. I heare many ſay, God ſend us peace betwixt the King and Kingdom, betwixt one County, City and another: Ah! but firſt beg Peace and Reconciliation twixt God and the Kingdom, God and the Country; Many weepe for, and cry out of the troubles, plunderings, aſſeſſements, but few of the abominations; and theſe make-bate, and break-peace, ſins of our poor ſick County, and conſuming Land, *Ezek.*9.3,4. But look as it is with a man in a ſhip that is Sea-ſick, he removes from one ſide of the ſhip to the other, from one end and place to another; or a ſick man in his bed, toſſeth from one ſide of the bed to the other, yet finds no eaſe, til he hath caſt up that burden, that oppreſſed his ſtomack; ſo with our Land till that ſinne that hinders peace with God be removed; now a Covenant is a way of *Agreement*, betwixt two diſagreeing Parties, its the ender of ſtrife, *Heb.*6.16. when men are at variance, this is the way of peace betwixt them; its a joyning of our ſelvs to the Lord to be at one with him, *Ier.*50.5. It's nothing elſe but an agreement, or bargain betwixt certain parties, either for the beginning a firming of peace, love, &c. ratified by ſome outward ſolemnity; yea, its a way to joyn us to God, as husband and wife are joyned, ſo as we have a joynture and intereſt in the husbands eſtate, *Gen.*29.34. *Hoſ.*2.19,20. *Reaſ.* 1.

Its a way to remove wrath from a Land, 2 *Chron.*29.10.

Its a way to bind and tye our flinching hearts more firmly to God, to make us go fully & through-ſtitch in the moſt difficult duties, notwithſtanding the hardeſt rubs, thus in text, 2 *Chron.*15. After this Covenant, *ver.*6. *Aſa* removed the very Queen-mother from being Queen, *Reaſ.*2. *Reaſ.*3.

and cut down her Idoll, and ſtamped it, and burnt it, &c. Its a great quickning and preſſing tye to a man, when hee remembers that I have opened my mouth to the Lord, *Judg.* 11.35. *I have lift up my hand to the most high God,* to do this or that, I cannot go back: this was one Motive Sir *Edw. Deering* ſaith, that brought him backe to the Parliament, from *Oxford*, when he remembred his Proteſtation which he had taken to ſtand for the honor of the King, and Priviledges of the Parliament; for though I might fancie (ſaith he) that I ſtood for the King, (i.e. his perſonall commands and pleaſure) yet I could not imagine that I ſtood for the Parliament and its priviledges; but returning to *London*, I could be aſſured that I ſtood for the King (i.e. his legall power, and indeed regall) & for the Parliament. Thus ſee how they went throughly in their buſineſſe after the Covenant, 2 *Chron.* 29.10. with 11.15,16. and 2 *Chron.* 34, 31—33. As long as a man is onely ſuitor to a Virgin, ſhe perhaps ſees his houſe and goods, but ſhe ſets not throughly about the affairs of the houſe; but after the marriage Covenant is knit, ſhee ſets about the work with all diligence: but I haſten to an Uſe, and its time that I ſhould; and becauſe the main buſineſſe of this day calls for our ſtay in the third Uſe, I will onely point at the former, which are,

Gen. 14 22.

Uſe 1. To inform us of one great cauſe why the great work of deſired reformation ſtops, why its Chariots are ſo long in coming, and drive on ſo heavily; ſurely this may well be one, Want of a pious entring into, and holy obſerving of a Nationall ſolemn Covenant with the Lord our God. Though, *Ezra* 1. *Cyrus* made a free Proclamation for libertie and materialls towards the re-building *Jeruſalem*, though the two anointed ones ſate about the work, though foundation laid, though they faſted and prayed, *Zach.* 7.3,5. yet the worke ſtayed 100 years at leaſt, till they entred Covenant with God in *Nehemiahs* time, the Work would not on; We crie out, *Alas, the Children are come to the birth, and no ſtrength to bring forth*, 2 Kings 19.3. Hoſ. 13.14. *Alas, the harveſt is come, the Summer is ended, and we are not helped*, Jer. 8.20. but may not the Lord ſay to us, as *David* to *Eliab*, 1 Sam. 17.29. *Is there not a Cauſe? &c.*

Uſe 2. The ſecond Uſe is for reproof of three ſorts:

Firſt, ſuch as will not enter into ſuch a holy Nationall Covenant; many are like the Iſraelites when they were in Egypt, and found the preſſure of the taxes, burthens, &c. oh then they cried for a day of delivery, they were never able to abide there; but when God offered them means of delivery, oh then, *I would to God* (ſay they) *that we were*

in

in (idolatrous and Tyrannicall) *Egypt again*; our Physick is worse then the disease: Many are like those dirty Potters, 1 *Chron.* 4.23. had rather dwell among the plants and hedges, then adventure any difficulties for the helping of a dying dear mother: nay, rather like *Geball*, *Ammon*, and *Amalek*, Covenant against this way; like *Tobiah* and *Sanballat* (and those *Samaritans* of a mungrell religion) are vexed at heart when they hear that *Jerusalems* wall is in building; as *Herod* and *Jerusalem* were, when they heard that CHRIST was borne; had rather joyn with Papists and Irish Rebels, pretending to maintain the Protestant Religion (and so did *Herod* to worship Christ)---but I spare.

Secondly, it reproves those, who do enter into this Covenant for by-ends, with rotten hearts, as that so joyning themselves, and thus farre siding with the Parliament, they may the more unsuspectedly espie out their Liberties, Plots, Designes, and Wayes, discover them to the Enemy, and betray and hinder the Worke; just as those Samaritans, *Ezra* 4.2. would needs joyn with *Juda* and *Benjamin* to build the Temple, *Come* (say they) *let us build with you, for we seek the Lord your God, as ye doe*; but their aime was to undermine, betray them, and to stop the Work, *verse* 5,6. and 2. Those that do it for saving their estates and meanes, or gaining some advantage, rise, or reputation, some great friends, favour and places in the world; thus did *Haman* and *Sechem* perswade the people to be circumcised (which was a Seale of the Covenant) only for this, by -- and beastly end, that so their cattell and substance might be theirs, *Gen.* 34. 22, 23. 3. That doe it meerely for feare, lest they should be sequestred, or punished, &c. for feare of this man, this Army, or that Commander, or some danger that may fall thereon; thus when *Mordecai* and his side prevailed, and *Haman* went down the wind, many of the people of the Land became Jewes, *for the feare of the Jewes fell upon them*, *Esther* 8.17.

Thirdly, reproves those that having entred into this Covenant, make no conscience, take no care to keep it; yet deal with God, as *Zedekiah* dealt with the King of *Babylon*, (take heed that God deale not with them, as *Nebuch.* did with *Zedeck.*) *Jer.* 52.9,10,11. they forget the Covenant of the Lord, *Psal.* 78.10.37. as *Messala Corvinus* forgate his owne name, so they their Vow: or if they remember it, yet as easily break their bonds, and cast these cords from them, as ever *Sampson* did the green Withs, *Judg.* 16.9. or the new Ropes, *verse* 12. but of this hereafter.

I come now to the third and main *Use*, which is of Exhortation, *Use* 3.

which

which I will give you in the words of the children of Israel, & Iudah when they were returning, and going about a great Work of *Reformation*, *Ier.* 50.4,5 *Come and let us ioyne our selves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant that shall not be forgotten*; and have we not just cause if you looke at those foure Cases forementioned, wherein Gods people have entred into Covenant with God: for if miseries, distresses, and calamities of a Kingdome may quicken us, are not we by reason of these civill (*uncivill*) warres, become a Kingdome divided, *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, Father against the Son, Brother against Brother? Are not wee in the same case with *Judah*, in this 2 *Chron.* 15.5, 6. *Nation destroyed of Nation, and City of City*; Hath not GOD ridden Circuit upon his Red horse of Warre, (*Rev.* 6.) and kept assises all England over? have not many a *Ioseph* and *Mary* (in these dayes) beene fain to take up their child, and flye their Countrey, *Mat.* 2.14. Nay, many of the Saints been disperst and scattered, husband and wife, brother and sisters, dearest friends, (many of whom never meet again in this world) as was the Church at Jerusalem in *Sauls* time, *Acts* 8. 1. *in many places the wayes to Sion mourne*, *Lam.* 1.4. *and the high wayes are unoccupied*, as *Jud.* 5.6. many people cry for bread for their soules, and there is none to break it; except such as when the people aske bread, they give them a stone, and for a fish, a Scorpion: what County, City, Parish, or Hamlet have not been overflowed with these inundations, 2 *Sam.* 5. 20. *beene hacked with this Battell-Axe*, *Ester* 48.38. *searched with this fire*, *Ezek.* 28.18. (witnesse especially, *Yorke* and *Lancaster*) how many have tasted the Devils malice in the plundering, *Chaldæans & Sabæans? Iob.* 1.15.17.

Secondly, again, if you look at sinnes and errours of a Kingdome, have we not need to enter into Covenant? have we not some errours established formerly by a Law, (*Non-residencies*, *Pluralities*, *dumbe Ministers*) some by Canon, some by Rubrick, some by Proclamation, some by errours in Doctrine, (*Popery*, *Atheisme*, *Heresies*, &c.) some in Discipline; some in Practise: of all sorts of men, all Sexes, of all sorts of sins, and places? may not we say as *Cornelius a lapide* saith on *Isa.* 29.13,14. *propter peccata populi principes & prælati excæcantur*, our great men and Prelats goe blindly astray, because of the Hypocrisie and Superstition of the people, *ver.* 13.

Thirdly, if you look at mercies; have we not great cause to enter Covenant? how have these Kingdomes been compassed with superlative mercies, and what victories hath God wrought in *Ireland*, what Deliverances in *Scotland*, what Miracles in *England*? how may *England* say

ſay, and *Scotland* and *Ireland* ſing, *Gods mercie endures for ever?* How may *London*, *Yorkeſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Wales*, ſay, *Gods mercie endures for ever?* have not theſe two ſiſter Kingdomes beene firmelyer knit by former breaches? *Ireland* purged by occaſion of thoſe who meant to ruine it? Victories obtained when our Armies weakeſt, witneſſe, *Wetherbie*, *Wakefield*, *Selbie*, &c. deepeſt plots diſcovered by the plotters; who diſcovered the Plot to bring up the northern army againſt the Parliament but themſelves? who diſcovered Sir *I.H.* Plots, but his owne Letters found at Heſſam Moore? who haſtned the entring this City (who had endured a long ſiege by two Nations) but *P.R.* great Army? Should wee ſet up pillars in all places that God hath crowned with Victories, our Northern Country would be as full of pillers as formerly of croſſes; witneſſe, *Welbecke*, *Bolſover*, *Wingfield*, *Sheffield*, *Walton*, *Montgomery*, but eſpecially, *Hull*, and *Heſſam*-Moore; that God ſhould call, keepe, deliver, worke, by a Parliament ſo wonderfully; that God ſhould begin with us in the Vale of Red horſe; ſhine on us at *Newberry*, and ſtill appear in the Mount.

But fourthly, if we look at mercies deſired, expected, but yet ſtill in the birth: how have we cryed a long time, Why ſtay the wheels of his Chariots ſo long: how did we three years ago expect halcyon daies, to ſee the Vials powred on the Beaſt, *Babylon* fall; to ſee Chriſts Kingdome erected, and thought ſtill, if this man removed, that Army raiſed this Victory obtained, then the work is done; how do our hearts pant to ſee Chriſt ſitting on his Throne, to ſee Truth and a Peace (of Gods making) eſtabliſhed; to ſee his Majeſty and great Councell happily united, and the top corner-ſtone finiſhed, that wee might ſay, many Parliaments have done vertuouſly, but thou haſt excelled them all: that we might hear the Kingdom ſing, as the people of *Saul* and *David*, *Other Parliaments have ſlain one thouſand faults in Church and State but this ten thouſand*; but yet as in (*Zerubbabel* and *Ioſhua's* time,) the work is hindered We have cauſe enough, and motives enough to enter Covenant with God. But the great ſcruple is (either reall or pretended) whether this be a lawfull Covenant, and whether one may ſafely take it or not.

The Caſuiſts (as I remember) ſay, that to right vowing, four things are requiſite; 1. That the perſon vowing be *ſui juris*, and that the thing which he vowes be within his generall or particular calling. 2. That the matter be poſſible, lawfull and of moment. 3. That for the Forme

it be done freely and willingly. 4. The end, *viz.* the glory of God, and the better performance of our duty.

The Scripture saith, that an Oath should be made in Truth (both *Logicall* and *Morall*.) 2. in judgment (deliberately, considerately, and not rashly) and 3. in righteousnesse (the authority enjoyning sufficient, matter lawfull, occasions just, &c.)

But against these its objected, 1. that there wants sufficient authority to enjoyn this Nationall Covenant, for that there is not the Kings Majesties Command or consent, nay, that its a Covenant (or confederacie) against the King, and against the Oath of Allegeance. 2. That there is no necessity or occasion of such a Covenant. 3. That many things in it are unlawfull, *dura verba*: let us weigh all these a little, and as I have hitherto learned, and according to that light which I have yet received, I shall acquaint you with my thoughts.

2 *Sam.* 24. 1. To the first, I have answered at my last being here more fully, and at large [about the Kingdomes case] which by command should have come forth ere now, but that this *Pharez*-like, hath broke out before his elder brother, *Gen.* 38. 29. At present onely this, the King is considered in a double capacity, either personall or politique, and so his commands are either personall or legall; and when ever (even in the best times of Peace) the Kings personall commands are opposite to his legall, (yea but to the sentence of any inferiour Court not legally reversed) his legall commands must be obeyed; when these crosse each other its our misery. Suppose the King command thee or mee to kill such an innocent man, out of his passion or pleasure, its murder in us, and deserves death if we do it, though wee have the Kings personall commands, because its against his legall commands; nay, I have read that if the King should command thee or me to take up Arms against the Justices of Assise, or some Parliament men while they are discharging their Offices, and to kill and slay them, in case they will not reverse some sentence judicially passed against the King, &c. in a case belonging to their cognizance, and we accordingly doe the said command, we shall be guilty of high Treason, though we have the Kings command; yea, and some have been adjudged to be and executed as Traytors (though of the Kings own servants and counsell) who have executed the Kings commands to the prejudice of the Kingdome: but never was any so adjudged for obeying the commands of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, though against the Kings

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verball commands. The Kings legall power is in his Courts, and the sentence thereof is the sentence of the King, though his person be absent, and his personall commands cannot reverse it; yea, though the suit be betwixt the Subject and the King, and the sentence passe against the King, yet that sentence is the sentence of the King, though passed against his mind, and must stand: how much more then is the Kings legall power in his highest Court of Parliament, which is the ultimate Judge of the Law, hath power to confirme or make void the Kings own Grants, Pattents, Proclamation; as old Lord *Burleigh* said, (approved and cited by King *James* in a speech of his) *I know not what lawfull thing it is, that a Parliament cannot doe.* This Covenant then hath the authority of the Kings legall power (which is his Regal and prime power) and his Parliament, which sure, are the highest power in the Land, though it may want his personall command. I find not that *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had the Kings personall command, when they drew the people into a Covenant, *Ezra* 10. and *Nehemiah* 9, and 10. and I cannot see any sense in saying, that this is against our Oath of Allegeance, which binds us *ad legem*, and to obey the King *secundum*, and not *contra legem*; nay, if Kings personall commands were to bee obeyed above their legall, to what purpose were Lawes, what were our lives, estates, and liberty worth in case Kings were misled at any time by temptation, bad counsell, &c. much lesse can it be said to be against the King (considered in his politique capacity) especially seeing part of the Covenant is, to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties person and authority, *Sect.* 3. I wish from my soule that party may succeed best, that wisheth and intends best and most for King *Charles* his true good and honour. I know both *Athalia* the Queene, 2. *Kings* 11. 14. and *Haman* the Courtier, *Ester* 3. 8, 9. called those men traytors, and the Kings enemies, that were best friends, and truest subjects both to King and Kingdome; but of this more fully before: if an inferiour Court hath power to demand an Oath, though the Kings person and consent be not there, how much more the Supreame Court of Judicature?

Rom. 13. 1, 2.

Secondly, for the necessity and occasion of taking it, we have shewed it in 4. particulars before; I onely adde, if we look either, 1. at God, whom we desire to be reconciled to our Land, *Heb.* 6. 16. *and his wrath removed* 2 *Chron* 29. 10. or, 2. at the great work of God now in hand, which is much stopped, as in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah's* time, and may bee

helped; or, 3. at other Kingdomes, who have entred into Covenant for our helpe, and why should we be loose and they bound, and adventure all they have; or, 4. at our owne Kingdome; see how (as in *Isaacs* time, *Gen.* 26. by the *Philistines*) our wels have been stopped, the well of Prayer before Sermon, and in private; the well of preaching, at least in afternoon; the well of Doctrine and Discipline, and of the Lawes of the Land; when Armies are raised against the Parliament, (many in which Armies are Irish Rebels, Papists, &c.) and is there not a cause then to enter Covenant, and lift up our hands to the most high God; when men under pretence of being a Guard to the King, get the King to be a guard to them.

Thirdly, for the lawfulnesse of it, whereas its said, that many things in it are unlawfull; let us a little anatomize and view the particulars of it, and they may be reduced to four Heads. The matters in the Covenant either concern, 1. God and Religion; or 2. other Kingdome, as well as our own, or 3. our own Kingdom, or 4. our particular persons.

First, concerning such matters as are about Religion, its either for the setting up, and maintaining of what is good, or 2. suppressing of what is evill. 1. For the setting up and maintaining of what is good; thus in the first Sect. [*That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, &c.*]

Quest. 1. And here some move two great scruples; 1. Why should I covenant to preserve the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, &c. seeing I know not what their Religion, Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline is: it may bee Popery, Heresie, or Blasphemy, for ought that I know. 2. If I did know, what is their Doctrine or Worship to me, what have I to do with it?

Answ. To this I answer, 1. thou mayest know what their Religion, Doctrine, Discipline, &c. is, their Confession of Faith, &c. their Bookes are extant to be read (too long to relate in a Sermon, much more in this nick and scantling;) A Justice of Peace swears to do justice according to the Lawes of the Land, hee hath the Statute book to reade, Lawyers or Parliament men to consult, so mayest thou consult their bookes, their Ministers and Officers with us. 2. I conceive (till I am better informed) that a man may lawfully take an Oath, the utmost extent of every particular whereof hee fully knoweth not when he swears; in this our text, did *Asa* and all the people know the utmost

utmost extent of all the particulars therein contained, and when *Jehoida* caused young *Joash* and the people to enter into Covenant, did they understand all the particulars? A Justice of Peace swears to doe Justice according to the Lawes of the Land; doth that Justice of Peace know all the particular Statutes, but the meaning in common intendment is, so far as they shall be made known to me, to be the Laws and Statutes of the land: so here, so far as it is made known to me to be the Religion of *Scotland*. 3. Let the Religion, Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of *Scotland* be what it will, yet here are three restrictions in the words that (I conceive) will fully cleare the case. 1. We are but to endeavour the preservation of it, [*so farre as agreeable to the VVord of GOD, and the example of the best Reformed Churches*] for that these words have reference as well to the preservation of *Scotlands* Doctrine and Discipline, as the Reformation of *Englands*, I am induced to believe both from the words themselves; from reason; and because a Reverend Divine, and one of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, when this Covenant was penned, who also preached in the City of *London* at the taking of it there, and whose Sermons came forth in Print with very good allowance and approbation; doth so understand it; as also I have heard it so interpreted at a meeting of many Reverend Divines, in another County, (*nemine contradicente*;) 2. We covenant but to preserve it [*against the common Enemy*] Papists and such like; and 3. not that we are to pull down this thing, or erect that, of our selves, or go into other Kingdomes about it; but [*in our places and Callings*] Now who needs to scruple or doubt but that so far as it shall be made known to me, to be the Doctrine, worship, &c of *Scotland*, and agreeable to the infallible Word of God, and so far as its against Popery and the common enemy, I may lawfully in my place and calling endeavour the preservation of it.

I have also heard some members of the Parliament thus expound it.

But what need wee covenant to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in Doctrine, Worship, &c. in the Kingdom of *England*, seeing I know not of any Reformation that it needs; for ought that *I* can see, its one of the purest Churches in Christendome, and hath bin thought so by most learned men? *Quest.* 2.

Let me answer to this in the words of *Jeremiah*, *Chap.* 28. 6. *Amen*: I wish with all my heart it were so, nevertheless I fear (as *Jeremiah* there) it will be found otherwise, and that both high and low have fowly corrupted their wayes, and both that Common-prayer Booke *Answ.*

which was set forth in the beginning of *Edw.6.* his Reign; and this which hath been conveyed to us, acknowledg a need of Reformation.

Ob. But not of our Doctrine? *Ans.* If by Doctrine of *England*, you mean the 39. Articles, they need at least a great clearing; for may not some needfull truths be added, more needfull then *Art.* 35. 36.?) if those can be called matter of Doctrine) have not the Remonstrants challenged some of them, as *Art.* 16. have not the Papists claimed them all (as reconcileable with their mire and clay) *Dan.* 2. 33. witnesse *Davenport*, an English-man (so they say was his name, who styles himself *Franciscus a sancta clara*) but this will appear more fully when we see the labours of the Reverend and learned Assembly of Divines.) So needs not our Discipline, Reformation? witnesse one point (among many) of Excommunication; was it done by those parties that had just Authority? was not that heaviest Church-rod, oft times laid upon the most pious men? and oft times for doing nothing but what they ought to doe, (as for going to another Parish to heare Gods word, when they had no food at home? (which yet themselves would doe for bread, water, or bodily food,) or for little errours and trifles (when the great flyes broke through, and that scale which had most gold was safe?) whereas Reverend *Beza* saith, that in all his time there were not past three or four excommunicated in all *Geneva*; as being a censure (*viz.* delivering men up unto Sathan) too heavie for lesser crimes; we may not (saith a godly Divine) kill a gnat upon the brow of our Neighbor with a beetle. So for Worship, if all things in our form of Worship were (after deep canvasing) found lawfull, yet being disputable (at best not necessary) but penned and framed by men; if it give offence to many godly men and tender consciences, and help to hold up an idle dumb ministery, (if I may so call it) who can do nothing else but read: and is occasion in many ignorant and carnall people, of contempt of the Gospel (and by consequent of hurting their souls wofully, *Act.* 13 46.) who deifying, resting upon, and satisfying themselves with a forme of prayer, neglect and contemn the publike Ministery; all these laid together, why may we not in our places and callings endeavour a Reformation hereof, when there is sufficient Authoritie going before, and warranting the same?

The next thing in the Covenant is for suppressing and extirpation of what is ill, (§. 2.) and that either such as is generally (among the Protestant Churches) granted to be ill, as Popery, Superstition, Schisme,

Schisme, Prophanesse, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godlinesse. Or secondly, such as is more questionable, & receives more debate amongst the godly learned; *viz.* Prelacy, that is, Church-government, by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Archdeacons, and such like: Now concerning this Prelacy, (as it exceeds the Presbyters Office, and (as it hath been in *England* a long time) there are three opinions chiefly prevalent. First, of them that hold this Episcopacy to be *Jure Divino*, (and so necessary) either *jure Divino primario*, having precept or president in Scripture; or, *secundario*, having fair hints from Scripture, being consonant thereto, and having been in the Apostles and primitive times, and downward to our times. Secondly, of them that conceive it to be Antichristian, (and so unlawfull) or (as M. *Wh.* in his Speech this Parliament) *A branch of the Hierarchy of Rome, and of the Antichrist, of which it is propheſied, Reevel.* 14. 11. that they shall not have any rest day nor night, that receive any print of the name of the Beast. Thirdly, of them that thinke it is *jure humano*, (in it self indifferent) a meere prudentiall way, having their power onely from Princes, and the temporall Laws, for the better governing of the Church, (as Maiors, Aldermen, Sheriffs for the Common-wealth) and may by the same humane power be continued or removed, as they finde it convenient or inconvenient to the Church.

Now they that are of the second opinion, need not to scruple this Covenant, if they think this Hierarchie, or (as some call it) spirituall Monarchy, to be simply unlawfull, they may very well (being called thereto by Authoritie) Covenant the extirpation of it.

For the first opinion, that holds it *jure Divino*;

First, it seems a thing strange to me, (and which I think hath had very few abettors, (except of later times) to conceive that Archbishops, Diocesan Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deanes, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and such other Officers (mentioned in second *sect.*) should have either precept or president in Scripture.

Object. But are not Bishops mentioned in Scripture, 1 *Tim* 3. 1, 2, 3. *Tit.* 1. and their Office commended?

Answer We no way Covenant here to extirpate such Bishops as are mentioned in Scripture; no, nor doth this Covenant meddle

meddle with all inequality, or superintendency amongst Ministers (as in some other Churches; if any such can be found not dissonant to Sacred Writ;) but onely here is condemned such Prelacy as hath been in *England*: [*Prelacy, that is, Government by Archbishops, Bishops*, &c.]

2. I conceive (and so doe the Reverend Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*) that Scripture-Bishops are no more there Presbyters (for we all agree that the Apostles had no Successors (no not *Peter* himself) in their Apostolicall function, but that ceased with them.) For, first, there could not well be more Diocesan Bishops then one, in one Citie or Town constantly residing, but at *Philippi* in *Macedonia*, and *Ephesus*, *Phil.* 1.1. *Act.* 20.28. there were more Scripture-Bishops then one.

Ob. But there might be many Parishes in *Ephesus* and *Philippi*?

Answ. 1. So are there in *Yorke* City, and Chappelries or Congregations in *Hallifax* and elsewhere; yet no Dioceses, or Diocesan Bishops. 2. The old Translation of *Tindall* cals it the congregation of *Ephesus*, and *Eusebius* cals it the Parish of *Ephesus*.

Secondly, the Scripture calls Bishops no more but Elders or Presbyters, *Act.* 20.*v.* 17. called Elders; the same persons, *v.* 28. called Bishops; (and though we acknowledge the last translation of the Bible, to be a great mercy, and blesse God for the Translators, and them for God; yet some learned and godly Divines think, that some great ones who oversaw the presse then, when they came to matters of Monarchy, or Episcopacie, then wittingly stretcht their authority to the height, else why do they translate *hupereconti* in the 1 *Pet.* 2.13. Supreame (though we all acknowledge the Kings lawfull Supremacie, and that place acknowledgeth the King to be but an ordinance of man:) when as neither doth the word properly so signifie; & in *Rom.* 13.1. *huperekousais* is translated [*higher*;] which place, many apply only unto the King, as if he onely was the higher power, whereas neither had the *Romanes* at that time (to whom *Paul* writ) any King; nor can a man well imagine that the Kings personall will and commands are the higher powers (in the plurall number) but rather the Kings legall power, *viz.* in *England* the King in Parliament; and then who are they that doe resist and take up arms against the higher powers, and what may they expect to receive *verse* 2? So the word *Episcopos*, which is usually translated Bishop, 1 *Tim.* 3 *Tit.* 1. &c. in *Act.* 20. 28. is translated Overseers, some have suspected the reason this; lest any man or woman looking there,

So Psal. 105. 15. 1 *Chron.* 16. 21. *Speake of such times ere the Iewes had any King.*

there, *ver.* 17. seeing them to be no more then bare Elders (*Presbuterous*) and seeing the same persons, *v.* 28. called Bishops, (*Episcopous*) should judge that in Scripture Bishops were no more then Presbyters or Elders; and therefore translated *v.* 28. Overseers. Moreover, where do we find the Jurisdiction of our Prelates in Scripture? rather it seemes they were to looke to one flock: *Peter* exhorts the Elders, 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. to do the work of Bishops, (*Episcopountes*) over the flock with them, no way as Lords over Gods Clergy *v.* 3. *Mark.* 10. 22. *Luke* 22. 25. 3. *John* 9. and so it is, *Act.* 20. 28. neither is ordination in Scripture appointed to Diocesian Bishops, but to the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. with 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. neither doe I find that in the Petition of the University of *Oxford* to this Parliament, for the continuance of Diocesan Bishops, they mention one place or ground of Scripture for that Function.

Obj. But such Bishops were in the Apostles times (as *Rodgers* saith on *Art.* 36.) or at least in the Primitive Church.

Answ. First, we find no such thing as Arch-Bishops, Diocesan Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. in the *Acts or Epistles of the Apostles*; nay, Mr. *Rogers* himself confesseth, that Arch-bishops are not found in Scripture. 2. Nay, I have read it (as a cleer case) that Bishops temporall Baronies began in *England* but in the dayes of *William* the Conqueror (not long since) and they were first called Spirituall Lords, here, in the dayes of *Rich.* 2.

Secondly, its affirmed by the best Antiquaries that I have read, that no Diocesan Bishops can be found in the first hundred yeares after the Apostles times, in any sound Author (not palpably suspected for spurious;) yea, some adde the first two hundred yeares.

Thirdly, when Bishops Superiority did first begin in primitive times, it was only priority of order, not power, as the Speaker in Parliament, or Prolocutor in the Synod hath, *pro tempore*, for better order-sake.

Fourthly, if it could be proved that they began sooner, yet we know that the mystery of iniquity began to work betimes, 2 *Thes.* 2. 7. confirmed by *Peters* Caveat, 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. and *Diotrephes* his practise, 3. *John* 9.

Fiftly, however *ab initio non fuit sic*; their pedigree (like those in *Ezr.* 2) not being found in the sacred Roll, they cannot rightly be said to be *jure divino*; antiquity is no ground for errour, for old *Adam*, and old *Leaven* must be put off, *Eph.* 4. and purged out, 1 *Cor.* 5.

I come to the third opinion of them who affirme Arch-bishops, Bishops, Diocesan, &c to be *jure humano*, claiming their authority from men onely, (as other Governours for the civill State in a prudentiall way) and I dare not think but many very godly brethren have thought and said this way their office in it self to be lawfull; yet to that the supream judicatory of

St. Jerom saith that the divisions in the Chur. and variety of opinions first set up

Bishops: the Kingdom, who had power to set them up, and grant them Priviledges,
Oh let us not by our deeds set up that againe which in words we covenant against. as in the dayes of *William Conq. Rich. 2. H. 6. H. 8.* have power if they see them inconvenient to a Church or State, to remove them (*ejusdem est condere & tollere*) they that have power to repeal Laws, Patents, Grants, Proclamations of the King, &c. have power upon just grounds to alter this Hierarchy. Besides, some Lawyers have affirmed that the Hierarchiall Government was never formally established by any Laws of *England*; and if it had, yet the maine life and soule of Episcopacy is taken away already, by an Act passed this present Parliament with his Majesties consent: however the supreame Judicatory finding it not commanded, or necessary by Scripture, (and so within their verge) and inconvenient to Church and State, may repeal it. The Petition of Kent this present Parliament layes down twenty severall inconveniences in their Government, as that they do with a hard hand over-rule all other Ministers; suspend and deprive many godly, religious, and painfull Ministers; themselvs seldome preach the Word of God; restrain painfull Preaching, as Lectures, and afternoon Sermons on Sabbath dayes, encouraged Papist Priests, and Arminian books; deformed many Churches with Popish Pictures, and Altars; practised and enforced many Innovations, as standing at all hymnes, and at *gloria patri*, turning to the East, like them, *Ezek.* 8. 16. bowing to Altars (or as they speak before the Altar, though in Scripture language, worship to, or before an Idoll, is all one; compare *Mat.* 4. 9. *ean proskunesis moi*, fall down and worship me, is the same with *Luke* 4. 7. *ean proskunesis enopion mou*, worship before me) reading second Service; besides the faults in their Courts; and about these present wars, their late Canons, and their owne Fact which cast themselves out of the house of Peers, and many others, as changing the Rubrick, by leaving out in the Letany this Prayer [*from the tyrannie of the Bishop of* Rome *and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us,*] changing the Rubrick about the accustomed place of Prayer, whereby they have brought in second Service: Altar and Eastern Worship; besides the change of the Scots Common-Prayer Book, preferring the reading of the Apocrypha, before Canonicall Scripture, for so the Calender saith, that certain bookes and chapters of the old Testament are left unread, as [*least edifying*] and yet Apocrypha is brought in the roome: Some men have observed, that seldome was there a constant conscionable Ministery, where Bishops Sees were, and seldome did Religion thrive well in those places; *Nicholaus Climingius* spake somewhat hardly of the Kingdom of *France*, wherin he lived; he said there was more Justice in Hell then in that Kingdom; for in Hell (saith he) there is no just or innocent man oppresst or wronged nor, unjust and wicked men escapes unpunished, but its other

Petition of Kent.

Vid Mr. White *Speech.*

wise

wise with us (saith he) some have said as much of this government. Others have added, that they conceive that its usually inclining to Popery. *Luther* hath a saying, *nunquam periclitatur Religio, nisi inter reverendissimos*, Religion is never so much in danger, as among the right Reverend. And since I read *Ad un Con zen* the Jesuit, his politiques (of which I gave you a large taste the last time that I was here who taught (and some have followed him close) how to cheat a people of their Religion) in ten particulars) I have often paused on one of his Rules, teaching us how to bring in Popery, *quis enim* (saith he) *puritanos in Anglia non facile redigat in ordinem* (you know what the Popes reducing to order is) *Si Episcoporum approbationem ab illis Extorqueat*; but enough of this. *Dr. S. Mr. W*

I come now to the second Branch in the Covenant, which concerns other Kingdoms with ours, and that is in *Sect.* 5. [viz. *That wee shall according to our place and interest, endeavour that these three Kingdoms may remain conjoyned in a firme peace and union to all posterity*;] he that knowes what a sweet, pleasant, and good thing Peace is wih a mans own self, in a mans own family, Peace in a Parish, Town, City, Riding, County or Kingdom, I conceive should endeavor to keep the Peace of two, of three Kingdoms, and the rather when he knowes and feeles what the want of peace is in any of these; *Psal.* 133. 1. *Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is*: some things are good, but not pleasant, as Salves, Corrosives, Physick, &c. some pleasant, but not good, as sinne, poyson, &c. but this peace (part of our Saviours Legacy) and Union is both good and pleasant; yea [*behold*] *how good* &c. I know not what can be objected against this, except by such, who *Salamander*-like love to live in the fire of contention, and thrive best in troubled waters. The *Athenians* banished *Demades*, for saying, God send me good Trading this yeere, (now by his Trade he was a Coffin-maker for dead men, and they thought he had not car'd if all they had dyed, so he might have had good trading,) I fear too many think so of these wars (as that ever thrice noble Lord *Br.* said in his last Speech before his sudden death:) but let such men see their doom, *Amos* 1. 9. for my own part I shall ever wish with the Poet, *jam geus una sumus, Cuncti sic simus in ævum.* *The second Branch.*

I post now to the third Branch of this Covenant, concerning our owne Kingdome, which is either for the maintaining of what is good, *Sect.* 3. or discovery and suppression of what is ill, *Sect.* 4. *The 3. Branch.*

First, to preserve what is good, as *viz.* *The Priviledge of Parliaments*, (a thing which we have formerly protested) and which have hitherto beene thought to be the prop and safety of a Kingdome, and which the King saith hath sufficient power to prevent all tyranny, which yet, I cannot conceive how they could do, if in no case they might defend themselves *Answ. to the 19. Propositions.*

by Armes. 2. *VVe are to preserve the Liberties of the Kingdomes*, 3. *The Kings Majesties person and authority in the preservation and defence*, &c. so far are wee from wishing one hair of his Majesties head to perish, from *lifting up our hands against the Lords annointed*, 1 Sam. 24. 6. *That we covenant to preserve his Majesties person and authority*, yet so as we desire to preserve, with all, the *true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome*.

Note i li- tas gitur.

Obj. But do you not fight with the Armies wherein the King is, and against his command, and may you not hurt the Kings person whatever you intend, as a certain man did King *Ahab*, 1 *Kings* 22. 34.

Ans. First, I am perswaded of others, that which (if I know my owne heart,) I am sure of for my self, that they would rather with *Hubbert* run betwixt the arrow and the King, and with their own death save the Kings life (if so indangered:) or with *Lillo*, who ran betwixt the murderer and King *Edwin*, and received the mortall wound intended against the King, then wittingly and wilfully hurt their dread Sovereign. 2. Its not the act of private persons, but of the representative Body of the Kingdome, betrusted with the preservation of our Religion and Liberties. 3. Should the King (though against their will and knowledge receive any hurt) as somtimes in justs and torneaments our Kings have done; or as a great Earle of this Kingdom was slaine by those who intended nothing more then his rescue & delivery from their hands that led him captive towards *Hull* in a Barge: or as a King of this land was in the Earle of *Liecesters* Army, and yet the subjects that unwittingly did it, were adjudged loyall, and no rebels, in Parliament after.) I say, should the crown of our head receive any harme, it would be their and our griefe, who seeke his return to his great Counsell; and did those who pretend his safety, love him as they say, I should think they should vow as the people did, 2 *Sam.* 18. 3. *Thou shalt not go forth to battell,---thou art worth ten thousand of us*; however the Kings honour, the preservation of his legall power, Religions purity, the Kingdoms safety, according to the fundamentall Laws of this Land are (I conceive) that thing aimed at, and *Mordecais* innocency will at last appeare even to the King, *Psal.* 37. 6.

Hubbert of Saint Clare saved H. 2 so at the siege of Bridgnorth castle.

Earle of Kingstone.

Hen. 3. Anno 1266.

Secondly, Its for the discovery and suppressing of what is ill [*Sect.* 4.] *We shall with all faithfulnesse endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Instruments*, &c. and to confesse freely that which seemes to me the most materiall objection to a tender conscience, though lest objected by the other party, as far as I could yet see) lyes in this Section.

Obj. viz. Suppose my husband, father, brother, sister, children, &c. be talking merrily together, and one cast out a malignant word, or jest, am I bound

bound to discover them, that my husband, father, child, &c. may be brought to publique tryall, and receive condigne punishment?

Ans. With humble submission to those that penned the Covenant, and appointed it, and to my reverend brethren: I conceive; 1. that every idle, merry word, or mistake, doth not render a man an incendiary, malignant, or evill instrument, but only such words or deeds, as apparently tend to the hindering of the Reformation of Religion, the dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people (for I conceive that the words immediatly following, expound who are meant by Malignants, &c.) 2. If a brother do overshoot himself privatly, yet I conceive Christs rule is to be used here, *Mat.* 18.15, 16. *First admonish thy brother privately between him and thee; if that will not serve, then take with thee one or two; but if he appeare obstinate and wilfull, then must the publike ship be regarded more then our private Cabine*; and if they were as neer to us as *Maacha* (in this chapter 2 *Chron.* 15.16.) *fiat justitia, Deut.* 13.8. and 33.9.

Fourthly, the last Branch is concerning our selves, [*Sect.* 6, 7.] *That wee will assist and defend those that herein covenant with us*; but this is but according to our place and calling (as the rest are) and not to do any thing rashly & groundlesly upon our own heads; Again, this we did protest long since. 2. That we will neither turne to the contrary part, nor stand Neuters: is there not a curse as well against not helping the Church, as hurting? not helping the Church is reckoued a not helping God, *Iudg.* 5.23. shall not men be condemned as well for not helping Christs members, as for hurting them, *Mat.* 25.42:--45. I know there are many *Gallio's* that care neither for Religion nor Lawes, King nor Kingdome, so that they may have their ease and profit; many *Ambidexters*, like him, of whom the Oratour tells, that in the civill wars betwixt *Anthony* and *Augustus Cæsar*, he with much industry taught his two Crowes their severall notes; the one to say, (like a Parrat) *Hail, Emperour Anthony*; the other, *Hail, Emperour Augustus*! that so whether part so ever prevailed, he might seem to have been on that side.: and such Lukewarme Newters, *Revel.* 3.16. are usually most abhorred by God (*Matth* 12.30. *He that is not with me, is against me*) and men; and fare worst, like the men of *Succoth*, *Judges* 8.5, 6, 7. when *Gideon* pursued *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, he sent to the men of *Succath* for provision for his Army, *Stay* (say they) *let us first see who is the strongest side*; but see how it fared with them, *Gideon* taught them (to their cost) to stand Newters, *v.* 16, 17. I wish there be none of the *Gadarens* spirit left, who had rathe have Christ remove from their native Countrey, and a Legion of Devils stay there, then their Goods and estate should suffer.

Thirdly, after; 1. Often thinke of it, remember what thou haſt done, and it will ſtart three queſtions to thy ſelf; 1. *Jeremies* queſtion, *VVhat have I done?* 2. The Jaylors queſtion, *Acts* 16.30. and theirs, *Acts* 2.37. *VVhat ſhall I doe?* and 3. *Iosephs* queſtion, *Gen.*39.9. *How can I doe this wickednesse*; take heed of their great fault, viz. forgetting the Covenant of the Lord, *Pſal.*106. and 78, &c. *Ier.*50.5.

Secondly, have a care to keep it (thou mayeſt not play at faſt and looſe with God) have a care to ſtand to it as they 2 *Kings* 23.3. 2 *Chron.*34.32. and when any temptation comes, ſay with *Iephtah*, *Iudges* 11.35. *I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go backe*, it ſhould be an everlaſting Covenant, *Ier.*50.5. *VVe may not break leſt God quarrell with us and with our Kingdomes*, *Lev.*26.25. and ſay what haſt thou to do, to take my Covenant in thy mouth, ſeeing thou caſteſt my words behind thee, *Pſal.*50.16,17.

Motive 1. Breaking our Covenant brings ſword, (as before, *Lev.*26.25. 2. Breaks and divides a Kingdom, 2. Kings 11.11. 3. Makes gallant Armies flye and turne back before their enemies, (though number many, and Armour paſſing good) *Pſalm* 78. 9, 10. 4. Brings Gods ſore wrath, *Eccleſ.*5.2,4,6. 5. Brings a Curſe on the Breakers of it, (for ſo it implies a Curſe if we keep it not) *Neh.*10.29. ſee *Ruth* 1.17. 6. It brings all happy bleſſings to them that keep it, *Pſal.*25.10. 7. *Aquinas* and the Schoolmen make this difference betwixt Vowes to God and men, that thoſe with God are onely for our gain.

But I will detain you no longer with this my firſt Petition, but ſpeed to my ſecond and grand Petition to the Almighty God, for preparig directing, ſtrengthning and confirming grace, to enter into, and keepe this Covenant with God, that he would bleſſe our meeting this day, that it may in all things be to his honour, Religions advancement, our King and Kingdoms true good and happineſſe; this ancient (and* ſecond) Citie of *England*, its comfort: this poore diſtreſſed (yet darling) Counties reviving and flouriſhing, your Honours and all our ſpirituall and temporall joy and benefit through

JESUS CHRIST.

FINIS.

**Eboracum a prima jure ſecunda tenet.*